Rec Log 8-2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR.

SUBJECT: Arnold Toynbee

Attached is an excerpt from Arnold Toynbee's A Study of History, on the withdrawal and return of individuals. Although this is a theme which is quite common in Toynbee's writings, I believe this may be the section to which you were referring during the breakfast with Congressmen Boggs and Ford. Toynbee states, for example, that "the withdrawal makes it possible for the personality to realize powers within himself which might have remained dormant if he had not been released for the time being from his social toils and trammels."

If you are satisfied that this is the proper excerpt, I will have the attached pages sent to Congressmen Boggs and Ford, noting that it is at your request. If not, I will continue research to try to locate the precise quotation you had in mind.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve my sending the attached excerpt in your name to Congressmen Boggs and Ford.

✓

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

Attachment (Tab A)

AMH:JTH:ms:7/28/72

Transfiguration on a 'high mountain apart' reproduces Moses' transfiguration on Mount Sinai; the death and resurrection of a divine being is anticipated in the Hellenic Mysteries; the tremendous figure which is to appear and dominate the scene, at the catastrophe which is to bring to an end the present mundane order, is anticipated in the Zoroastrian mythology in the figure of the Saviour and in the Jewish mythology in the figures of the Messiah and 'the Son of Man'. There is, however, one feature of the Christian mythology which seems to have no precedent; and that is the interpretation of the future coming of the Saviour or Messiah as the future return to Earth of an historical figure who had already lived on Earth as a human being. In this flash of intuition the timeless past of the foundling myth and the timeless present of the agrarian ritual are translated into the historical striving of mankind to reach the goal of human endeavour. In the concept of the Second Coming the *motif* of Withdrawal-and-Return attains its deepest spiritual meaning.

The flash of intuition in which the Christian concept of the Second Coming was conceived must evidently have been the response to a particular challenge of the time and place, and the critic who makes the mistake of supposing that things have nothing more in them than is to be found in their origins will depreciate this Christian doctrine on the ground that it originated in a disappointment: the disappointment of the primitive Christian community when they realized that their Master had actually come and gone without the looked-for result. He had been put to death, and, as far as could be seen, His death had left His followers without prospects. If they were to find heart to carry on their Master's mission, they must draw the sting of failure from their Master's career by projecting this career from the past into the future; they must preach that He was to come again in power and glory.

It is, indeed, true that this doctrine of a Second Coming has since been adopted by other communities that have been in the same disappointed or frustrated state of mind. In the myth of the Second Coming of Arthur, for example, the vanquished Britons consoled themselves for the failure of the historic Arthur to avert the ultimate victory of the English barbarian invaders. In the myth of the Second Coming of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (A.D. 1152–90) the Germans of the later Middle Ages consoled themselves for their failure to maintain their hegemony over Western Christendom.

'To the south-west of the green plain that girdles in the rock of Salzburg, the gigantic mass of the Untersberg frowns over the road

which winds up a long defile to the glen and lake of Berchtesgaden. There, far up among its limestone crags, in a spot scarcely accessible to human foot, the peasants of the valley point out to the traveller the black mouth of a cavern and tell him that, within, Barbarossa lies amid his knights in an enchanted sleep, waiting the hour when the ravens shall cease to hover round the peak and the pear-tree blossom in the valley, to descend with his Crusaders and bring back to Germany the golden age of peace and strength and unity.'[1]

Similarly the Shi'ite community in the Muslim World, when they had lost their battle and become a persecuted sect, conceived the idea that the Twelfth Imām (twelfth lineal descendant of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet) had not died but had disappeared into a cave from which he continued to provide spiritual and temporal guidance for his people, and that one day he would reappear as the promised Mahdi and bring the long reign of tyranny to an end.

But if we turn our attention again to the doctrine of the Second Coming in its classic Christian exposition, we shall see that it is really a mythological projection into the future, in physical imagery, of the spiritual return in which the Apostles' vanquished Master reasserted His presence in the Apostles' hearts, when the Apostles took heart of grace to execute, in spite of the Master's physical departure, that audacious mission which the Master had once laid upon them. This creative revival of the Apostles' courage and faith, after a moment of disillusionment and despair, is described in the Acts—again in mythological language—in the image of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost.

After this attempt to grasp what Withdrawal-and-Return really means, we are in a better position to take an empirical survey of its working in human history through the interaction of creative personalities and creative minorities with their fellow human beings. There are famous historical examples of the movement in many different walks of life. We shall encounter it in the lives of mystics and saints and statesmen and soldiers and historians and philosophers and poets, as well as in the histories of nations and states and churches. Walter Bagehot expressed the truth we are seeking to establish when he wrote: 'All the great nations have been prepared in privacy and in secret. They have been composed far away from all distraction.'[2]

We will now pass rapidly in review a diversity of examples, beginning with creative individuals.

[1] Bryce, James: *The Holy Roman Empire*, ch. xi, *ad fin.*
[2] Bagehot, W.: *Physics and Politics*, 10th ed., p. 214.

Saint Paul

Paul of Tarsus was born into Jewry in a generation when the impact of Hellenism upon the Syriac Society was presenting a challenge which could not be evaded. In the first phase of his career he persecuted the Jewish followers of Jesus who were guilty, in Jewish Zealot eyes, of making a breach in the Jewish community's ranks. In the latter part of his career he turned his energies in an entirely different direction, preaching a new dispensation 'where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free',[1] and preaching this reconciliation in the name of the sect which he had formerly persecuted. This last chapter was the creative chapter of Paul's career; the first chapter was a false start; and between the two chapters a great gulf was fixed. After his sudden enlightenment on the road to Damascus, Paul 'conferred not with flesh and blood' but went into the desert of Arabia. Not until three years later did he visit Jerusalem and meet the original Apostles with a view to resuming practical activity.[2]

Saint Benedict

The life of Benedict of Nursia (*circa* A.D. 480–543) was contemporary with the death-throes of the Hellenic Society. Sent as a child from his Umbrian home to Rome in order to receive the traditional upper-class education in the humanities, he revolted from the life of the capital and withdrew into the wilderness at this early age. For three years he lived in utter solitude; but the turning-point of his career was his return to social life upon reaching manhood, when he consented to become the head of a monastic community: first in the valley of Subiaco and afterwards on Monte Cassino. In this last creative chapter of his career the saint improvised a new education to take the place of the obsolete system that he himself had rejected as a child, and the Benedictine community on Monte Cassino became the mother of monasteries which increased and multiplied until they had spread the Benedictine Rule to the uttermost parts of the West. Indeed this rule was one of the main foundations of the new social structure which was eventually raised in Western Christendom on the ruins of the ancient Hellenic order.

One of the most important features in Benedict's rule was the prescription of manual labour; for this meant, first and foremost, agricultural labour in the fields. The Benedictine movement was, on the economic plane, an agricultural revival: the first successful

[1] Colossians iii. 22. [2] Galatians i. 15–18.

revival of agriculture in Italy since the destruction of the Italian peasant economy in the Hannibalic War. The Benedictine Rule achieved what had never been achieved by the Gracchan agrarian laws or the Imperial *alimenta*, because it worked, not, as state action works, from above downwards, but from below upwards, by evoking the individual's initiative through enlisting his religious enthusiasm. By virtue of this spiritual *élan* the Benedictine Order not only turned the tide of economic life in Italy; it also performed in medieval Transalpine Europe that strenuous pioneer work of clearing forests, draining marshes and creating fields and pastures which was performed in North America by the French and British backwoodsmen.

Saint Gregory the Great

Some thirty years after the death of Benedict, Gregory, holding the office of *Praefectus Urbi* in Rome, found himself faced with an impossible task. The city of Rome in A.D. 573 was in much the same predicament as the city of Vienna in A.D. 1920. A great city, which had become what it was in virtue of having been for centuries the capital of a great empire, now suddenly found itself cut off from its former provinces, deprived of its historic functions and thrown back on its own resources. In the year of Gregory's prefecture, the *Ager Romanus* was restricted approximately to the area which it had occupied some nine centuries back, before the Romans had embarked on their struggle with the Samnites for the mastery of Italy, but the territory which had then to support a little market-town had now to support a vast parasitic capital. The impotence of the old order to deal with the new state of affairs must have been borne in upon the mind of a Roman magnate who held the *Praefectura Urbis* at this time, and this painful experience would fully account for Gregory's complete withdrawal from the secular world two years later.

His withdrawal, like Paul's, was of three years' duration, and at the end of that period he was planning to undertake in person the mission that he afterwards undertook by proxy, for the conversion of the heathen English, when he was recalled to Rome by the Pope. Here, in various ecclesiastical offices and finally on the Papal throne itself (A.D. 590–604), he accomplished three great tasks. He reorganized the administration of the estates of the Roman Church in Italy and overseas; he negotiated a settlement between the Imperial authorities in Italy and the Lombard invaders; and he laid the foundations of a new empire for Rome in the place of her old empire which now lay in ruins—a new Roman Empire, established by missionary zeal and not by military

force, which was eventually to conquer new worlds whose soil the legions had never trodden and whose very existence had never been suspected by the Scipios and Caesars.

The Buddha

Siddhārtha Gautama the Buddha was born into the Indic World in its time of troubles. He lived to see his native city state Kapilavastu sacked and his Sakyan kinsmen massacred. The small aristocratic republics of the early Indic World, of which the Sakyan community was one, appear to have been succumbing in Gautama's generation to rising autocratic monarchies built on a larger scale. Gautama was born a Sakya aristocrat at a moment when the aristocratic order was being challenged by new social forces. Gautama's personal retort to this challenge was to renounce a world which was becoming inhospitable to aristocrats of his ancestral kind. For seven years he sought enlightenment through ever-increasing asceticism. It was not until he had taken the first step towards returning to the world by breaking his fast that the light broke in upon him. And then, after he had attained the light for himself, he spent the rest of his life in imparting it to his fellow human beings. In order to impart it effectively, he allowed a company of disciples to gather round him and thus became the centre and head of a fraternity.

Muhammad

Muhammad was born into the Arabian external proletariat of the Roman Empire in an age when the relations between the Empire and Arabia were coming to a crisis. At the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian Era the saturation-point had been reached in the impregnation of Arabia with cultural influences from the Empire. Some reaction from Arabia, in the form of a counter-discharge of energy, was bound to ensue; it was the career of Muhammad (whose lifetime was *circa* A.D. 570–632) that decided the form that this reaction was to take; and a movement of Withdrawal-and-Return was the prelude to each of the two crucial new departures upon which Muhammad's life-history hinges.

There were two features in the social life of the Roman Empire in Muhammad's day that would make a particularly deep impression on the mind of an Arabian observer because, in Arabia, they were both conspicuous by their absence. The first of these features was monotheism in religion. The second was law and order in government. Muhammad's life-work consisted in translating each of these elements in the social fabric of 'Rūm' into an

Arabian vernacular version and incorporating both his Arabianized monotheism and his Arabianized imperium into a single master-institution—the all-embracing institution of Islam—to which he succeeded in imparting such titanic driving-force that the new dispensation, which had been designed by its author to meet the needs of the barbarians of Arabia, burst the bounds of the peninsula and captivated the entire Syriac World from the shores of the Atlantic to the coasts of the Eurasian Steppe.

This life-work, upon which Muhammad appears to have embarked in about his fortieth year (*circa* A.D. 609), was achieved in two stages. In the first of these stages Muhammad was concerned exclusively with his religious mission; in the second stage the religious mission was overlaid, and almost overwhelmed, by the political enterprise. Muhammad's original entry upon a purely religious mission was a sequel to his return to the parochial life of Arabia after a partial withdrawal of some fifteen years' duration into the life of a caravan-trader between the Arabian oases and the Syrian desert-ports of the Roman Empire along the fringes of the North Arabian Steppe. The second, or politico-religious, stage in Muhammad's career was inaugurated by the Prophet's withdrawal or Hegira (*Hijrah*) from his native oasis of Mecca to the rival oasis of Yathrib, thenceforth known *par excellence* as Medina: 'the City' (of the Prophet). In the *Hijrah*, which has been recognized by Muslims as such a crucial event that it has been adopted as the inaugural date of the Islamic Era, Muhammad left Mecca as a hunted fugitive. After a seven years' absence (A.D. 622–9) he returned to Mecca, not as an amnestied exile, but as lord and master of half Arabia.

Machiavelli

Machiavelli (A.D. 1469–1527) was a citizen of Florence who was twenty-five years old when Charles VIII of France crossed the Alps and overran Italy with a French army in 1494. He thus belonged to a generation which was just old enough to have known Italy as she had been during her age of immunity from 'barbarian invasions'; and he lived long enough to see the peninsula become the international arena for trials of strength between sundry Transalpine or Transmarine Powers which found the prize and the symbol of their alternating victories in snatching from one another's grasp an oppressive hegemony over the once independent Italian city-states. This impact upon Italy of non-Italian Powers was the challenge which the generation of Machiavelli had to encounter and the experience through which they had to live; and the experience was the more difficult for the

Italians of this generation to meet inasmuch as it was one which had not been tasted, either by them or by their forefathers, for the best part of two-and-a-half centuries.

Machiavelli was endowed by nature with consummate political ability; he had an insatiable zest for exercising his talents. Fortune had made him a citizen of Florence, one of the leading city-states of the peninsula, and merit won him, at the age of twenty-nine, the post of Secretary to the Government. Appointed to this important office in 1498, four years after the first French invasion, he acquired a first-hand knowledge of the new 'barbarian' Powers in the course of his official duties. After fourteen years of this experience he had become perhaps better qualified than any other living Italian for taking a hand in the urgent task of helping Italy to work out her political salvation, when a turn in the wheel of Florentine domestic politics suddenly expelled him from his field of practical activity. In 1512 he was deprived of his Secretaryship of State and in the following year he suffered imprisonment and torture; and, although he was lucky enough to emerge again alive, the price which he had to pay for his release from prison was a perpetual rustication on his farm in the Florentine countryside. The break in his career was complete; yet, in putting him to the proof of this tremendous personal challenge, Fortune did not find Machiavelli wanting in the power to make an effective response.

In a letter written very shortly after his rustication to a friend and former colleague he describes in detail and with an almost humorous detachment the manner of life which he has now mapped out for himself. Rising with the sun, he devotes himself during the hours of daylight to the humdrum social and sporting activities suitable to the manner of life now forced upon him. But that is not the end of his day.

'When the evening comes I return to the house and go into my study; and at the door I take off my country clothes, all caked with mud and slime, and put on court dress; and when I am thus decently re-clad I enter into the ancient mansions of the men of ancient days. And there I am received by my hosts with all lovingkindness, and I feast myself on that food which alone is my true nourishment, and which I was born for.'

In these hours of scholarly research and meditation was conceived and written *The Prince*; and the concluding chapter of the famous treatise, which is an 'Exhortation to liberate Italy from the Barbarians', reveals the intention that Machiavelli had in mind when he took up his pen to write. He was addressing himself once more to the one vital problem of contemporary Italian statesmanship in the hope that perhaps, even now, he might help

to bring that problem to solution by transmuting into creative thought the energies which had been deprived of their practical outlet.

In fact, of course, the political hope that animates *The Prince* was utterly disappointed. The book failed to achieve its author's immediate aim; but this is not to say that *The Prince* was a failure, for the pursuit of practical politics by literary means was not the essence of the business which Machiavelli was going about when, evening after evening in his remote farm-house, he entered into the mansions of the men of ancient days. Through his writings Machiavelli was able to return to the world on a more etherial plane, on which his effect on the world has been vastly greater than the highest possible achievement of a Florentine Secretary of State immersed in the details of practical politics. In those magic hours of *catharsis* when he rose above his vexation of spirit Machiavelli succeeded in transmuting his practical energies into a series of mighty intellectual works—*The Prince*, *The Discourses on Livy*, *The Art of War* and *The History of Florence*—which have been the seeds of our modern Western political philosophy.

Dante

Two hundred years earlier the history of the same city furnished a curiously parallel example. For Dante did not accomplish his life-work till he had been driven to withdraw from his native city. In Florence, Dante fell in love with Beatrice, only to see her die before him, still the wife of another man. In Florence he went into politics only to be sentenced to exile, an exile from which he never returned. Yet, in losing his birthright in Florence, Dante was to win the citizenship of the world; for in exile the genius which had been crossed in politics after being crossed in love found its life-work in creating the *Divina Commedia*.

A conspicuous example of Withdrawal-and-Return, which has come to our notice in other connexions, is the behaviour of the Athenians in the crisis into which the Hellenic Society was thrown by the presentation of the Malthusian challenge in the eighth century B.C.

We have noticed that the first reaction of Athens to this problem of over-population was ostensibly negative. She did not, like so many of her neighbours, react to it by establishing colonies overseas, and she did not, like the Spartans, react to it by seizing the

(2) WITHDRAWAL AND RETURN: INDIVIDUALS

In the last section we have studied the course which is followed by creative personalities when they are taking the mystic path which is their highest spiritual level. We have seen that they pass first out of action into ecstasy and then out of ecstasy into action on a new and higher plane. In using such language we describe the creative movement in terms of the personality's psychic experience. In terms of his external relations with the society to which he belongs we shall be describing the same duality of movement if we call it withdrawal and return. The withdrawal makes it possible for the personality to realize powers within himself which might have remained dormant if he had not been released for the time being from his social toils and trammels. Such a withdrawal may be a voluntary action on his part or it may be forced upon him by circumstances beyond his control; in either case the withdrawal is an opportunity, and perhaps a necessary condition, for the anchorite's transfiguration; 'anchorite', in the original Greek, means literally 'one who goes apart'; but a transfiguration in solitude can have no purpose, and perhaps even no meaning, except as a prelude to the return of the transfigured personality into the social milieu out of which he had originally come: a native environment from which the human social animal cannot permanently estrange himself without repudiating his humanity and becoming, in Aristotle's phrase, 'either a beast or a god'. The return is the essence of the whole movement as well as its final cause.

This is apparent in the Syriac myth of Moses' solitary ascent of Mount Sinai. Moses ascends the mountain in order to commune with Yahweh at Yahweh's call; and the call is to Moses alone, while the rest of the Children of Israel are charged to keep their distance. Yet Yahweh's whole purpose in calling Moses up is to send him down again as the bearer of a new law which Moses is to communicate to the rest of the people because they are incapable of coming up and receiving the communication themselves.

> 'And Moses went up unto God; and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying: "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob and tell the Children of Israel." . . . And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony . . . written with the finger of God.'[1]

The emphasis upon the return is equally strong in the account of the prophetic experience and the prophetic mission given by

[1] Exodus xix. 3 and xxxi. 18. See ch. xix, *passim*.

the Arabic philosopher Ibn Khaldūn in the fourteenth century of the Christian Era:

'The human soul has an innate disposition to divest itself of its human nature in order to clothe itself in the nature of the angels and to become an angel in reality for a single instant of time—a moment which comes and goes as swiftly as the flicker of an eyelid. Thereupon the soul resumes its human nature, after having received, in the world of angels, a message which it has to carry to its own human kind.'[1]

In this philosophic interpretation of the Islamic doctrine of prophecy we seem to catch an echo of a famous passage of Hellenic philosophy: Plato's simile of the Cave. In this passage Plato likens the ordinary run of mankind to prisoners in a cave, standing with their backs to the light and gazing at shadows cast upon a screen by the realities which are moving about behind them. The prisoners take it for granted that the shadows which they see on the back wall of the cave are the ultimate realities, since these are the only things that they have ever been able to see. Plato then imagines a single prisoner being suddenly released and compelled to turn round and face the light and walk out into the open. The first result of this re-orientation of vision is that the liberated prisoner is dazzled and confused. But not for long; for the faculty of vision is already in him and his eyes gradually inform him of the nature of the real world. He is then sent back to his cave again; and he is just as much dazzled and confused by the twilight now as he was by the sunlight before. As he formerly regretted his translation into the sunlight, so he now regrets his re-translation into the twilight, and with better reason; for in returning to his old companions in the cave who have never seen the sunlight he will be exposed to the risk of a hostile reception.

'There will assuredly be laughter at his expense, and it will be said of him that the only result of his escapade up there is that he has come back with his eyesight ruined. Moral: it is a fool's game even to make the attempt to go up aloft; "and as for the busybody who goes in for all this liberating and translating to higher spheres, if ever we have a chance to catch him and kill him, we will certainly take it".'

Readers of Robert Browning's poetry may be reminded at this point of his fantasy of Lazarus. He imagines that Lazarus, who was raised from the dead four days after his death, must have returned to 'the cave' a very different man from what he was before he left it, and he embodies a description of this same Lazarus of Bethany, in old age, forty years after his unique experience, in *An Epistle* of one Karshish, a travelling Arabian

[1] Ibn Khaldūn: *Muqaddamāt*, French translation by Baron M. de Slane, vol. ii, p. 437.

physician who writes periodical reports for the information of the head of his firm. According to Karshish the villagers of Bethany can make nothing of poor Lazarus; he has come to be regarded as a quite harmless variety of the village idiot. But Karshish has heard Lazarus's story, and is not so sure.

Browning's Lazarus failed to make his 'return' in any effective shape; he became neither a prophet nor a martyr, but suffered the returning Platonic philosopher's less exacting alternative fate of being tolerated but ignored. Plato himself has painted the ordeal of the return in such unattractive colours that it is almost surprising to find him imposing it remorselessly on his elect philosophers. But if it is essential to the Platonic system that the elect should acquire philosophy, it is equally essential that they should not remain philosophers only. The purpose and meaning of their enlightenment is that they should become philosopher-kings. The path which Plato lays down for them is unmistakably identical with the path that has been trodden by the Christian mystics.

Yet, while the path is identical, the spirit in which it is traversed by the Hellenic and by the Christian soul is not the same. Plato takes it for granted that the personal interest, as well as the personal desire, of the liberated and enlightened philosopher must be in opposition to the interest of the mass of his fellow men who still 'sit in darkness and in the shadow of death . . . fast bound in misery and iron'.[1] Whatever may be the interests of the prisoners, the philosopher, on Plato's showing, cannot minister to the needs of mankind without sacrificing his own happiness and his own perfection. For, when once he has attained enlightenment, the best thing for the philosopher himself is to remain in the light outside the cave and live there happy ever after. It was indeed a fundamental tenet of Hellenic philosophy that the best state of life is the state of contemplation—the Greek word for which has become our English word 'theory' which we habitually use as the opposite of 'practice'. The life of contemplation is placed by Pythagoras above the life of action, and this doctrine runs through the whole Hellenic philosophical tradition down to the Neo-platonists living in the latest age of the Hellenic Society in its dissolution. Plato affects to believe that his philosophers will consent to take a hand in the work of the world from a sheer sense of duty, but in fact they did not; and their refusal may be part of the explanation of the problem why the breakdown which the Hellenic Civilization had suffered in the generation before Plato was never retrieved. The reason why 'the great refusal' was made by the Hellenic philosophers is also clear. Their moral limitation was

[1] Psalm cvii. 10.

the consequence of an error in belief. Believing that the ecstasy and not the return was the be-all and end-all of the spiritual Odyssey on which they had embarked, they saw nothing but a sacrifice on the altar of duty in the painful passage from ecstasy to return which was really the purpose and culmination of the movement in which they were engaged. Their mystical experience lacked the cardinal Christian virtue of love which inspires the Christian mystic to pass direct from the heights of communion to the slums, moral and material, of the unredeemed workaday world.

This movement of Withdrawal-and-Return is not a peculiarity of human life which is only to be observed in the relations of human beings with their fellows. It is something that is characteristic of life in general, and becomes manifest to man in the life of the plants as soon as he has made this plant life his concern by taking up agriculture—a phenomenon which has led the human imagination to express human hopes and fears in agricultural terms. The annual withdrawal and return of the corn has been translated into anthropomorphic terms in ritual and mythology, as witness the rape and restoration of a Korê or Persephonê, or the death and resurrection of a Dionysus, Adonis, Osiris or whatever may be the local name for the universal corn-spirit or year-god, whose ritual and myth, with the same stock characters playing the same tragic drama under diverse names, is as widespread as the practice of agriculture itself.

Similarly, the human imagination has found an allegory of human life in the phenomena of withdrawal and return apparent in the life of plants, and in terms of this allegory it has wrestled with the problem of death, a problem which begins to torment human minds from the moment when, in growing civilizations, the higher personalities begin to disengage themselves from the mass of mankind.

'Some men will say: "How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?"

'Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die;

'And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or of some other grain;

'But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body. . . .

'So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption;

'It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power;

'It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. . . .

'And so it is written: "The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." . . .

'The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from Heaven.'[1]

In this passage of the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians four ideas are presented in a succession which is also a crescendo. The first idea is that we are witnessing a resurrection when we behold the return of the corn in the spring after its withdrawal in the autumn. The second idea is that the resurrection of the corn is an earnest of the resurrection of dead human beings: a reaffirmation of a doctrine taught long before in the Hellenic Mysteries. The third idea is that the resurrection of human beings is possible and conceivable in virtue of some kind of transfiguration which their natures undergo through the act of God during the time of waiting that has to intervene between their death and their return to life. The earnest of this transfiguration of dead human beings is the manifest transfiguration of seeds into flowers and fruits. This change in human nature is to be a change in the direction of greater endurance, beauty, power and spirituality. The fourth idea in the passage is the last and most sublime. In the concept of the First and Second Man the problem of death is forgotten and the concern for the resurrection of the individual human being is momentarily transcended. In the advent of 'the Second Man who is the Lord from Heaven' Paul hails the creation of a new species composed of one unique individual, the *Adjutor Dei* whose mission it is to raise the rest of mankind to a superhuman level by inspiring his fellow men with his own inspiration from God.

Thus the same *motif* of withdrawal and transfiguration leading up to a return in glory and power can be discerned in the spiritual experience of mysticism and in the physical life of the vegetable world and in human speculations on death and immortality and in the creation of a higher out of a lower species. This is evidently a theme of cosmic range; and it has furnished one of the primordial images of mythology, which is an intuitive form of apprehending and expressing universal truths.

One mythical variant of the *motif* is the story of the foundling. A babe born to a royal heritage is cast away in infancy—sometimes (as in the stories of Oedipus and Perseus) by his own father or grandfather, who is warned by a dream or an oracle that the child is destined to supplant him; sometimes (as in the story of Romulus) by a usurper, who has supplanted the babe's father and fears lest the babe should grow up to avenge him; and sometimes (as in the stories of Jason, Orestes, Zeus, Horus, Moses and Cyrus) by friendly hands that are concerned to save the babe from the

[1] 1 Corinthians xv. 35–8, 42–5, 47.

villain's murderous designs. In the next stage of the story the infant castaway is miraculously saved alive, and in the third and last chapter the child of destiny, now grown to manhood and wrought to a heroic temper by the hardships through which he has passed, returns in power and glory to enter into his kingdom.

In the story of Jesus the Withdrawal-and-Return *motif* perpetually recurs. Jesus is the babe born to a royal heritage—a scion of David or a son of God Himself—who is cast away in infancy. He comes down from Heaven to be born on Earth; He is born in David's own city of Bethlehem, yet finds no room in the inn and has to be laid in a manger, like Moses in his ark or Perseus in his chest. In the stable He is watched over by friendly animals, as Romulus is watched over by a wolf and Cyrus by a hound; He also receives the ministrations of shepherds, and is reared by a foster-father of humble birth, like Romulus and Cyrus and Oedipus. Thereafter He is saved from Herod's murderous design by being taken away privily to Egypt, as Moses is saved from Pharaoh's murderous design by being hidden in the bulrushes, and as Jason is placed beyond the reach of King Pelias by being hidden in the fastnesses of Mount Pelion. And then at the end of the story Jesus returns, as the other heroes re ırn, to enter into His Kingdom. He enters into the Kingdom of Judah when, riding into Jerusalem, He is hailed by the multitudes as the Son of David. He enters into the Kingdom of Heaven in the Ascension.

In all this the story of Jesus conforms to the common pattern of the tale of the foundling babe, but in the Gospels the underlying *motif* of Withdrawal-and-Return presents itself in other shapes as well. It is present in each one of the successive spiritual experiences in which the divinity of Jesus is progressively revealed. When Jesus becomes conscious of His mission, upon His baptism by John, He withdraws into the wilderness for forty days and returns from His Temptation there in the power of the spirit. Thereafter, when Jesus realizes that His mission is to lead to His death, He withdraws again into the 'high mountain apart' which is the scene of His Transfiguration, and returns from this experience resigned and resolved to die. Thereafter, again, when He duly suffers the death of mortal man in the Crucifixion, He descends into the tomb in order to rise immortal in the Resurrection. And last of all, in the Ascension, He withdraws from Earth to Heaven in order to 'come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: whose Kingdom shall have no end'.

These crucial recurrences of the Withdrawal-and-Return *motif* in the story of Jesus likewise have their parallels. The withdrawal into the wilderness reproduces Moses' flight into Midian; the